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NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS

A PUBLICATION OF THE ANCIENT COIN CLUB OF AMERICA

VOL. VI, NO. 4 APRIL, 1967

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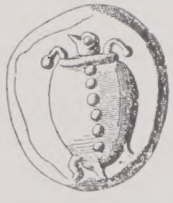

COVER COIN: ANTIGONUS GONATAS, KING OF MACEDON 277-239 B.C. RV.: ATHENA ALKIS STANDING L. HOLDING SHIELD AND THUNDERBOLT. SILVER TETRADRACHM.
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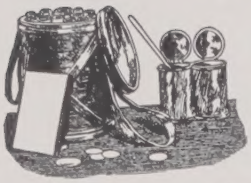

From the Editor's Desk

The man of 2067 hardly will be aware that payday has arrived. His employer will create an automatic transference of credit from his account to that of the employee by making an entry in a slave type computor. The master computor at the bank will make the appropriate debits and credits, keyed by electronic impulses from the slave computor.

Creditors of our hypothetical man of a century hence will receive payments on their obligations automatically as the bank computor debits the individual account and then takes note of demands due against that account. Such demands will be esablished in the memory banks of the machine and transferences of such payments will be handled automatically and in accordance with pre-programmed arrangements.

Purchases will be made through the use of the card similar to the familiar credit card. The difference will lie in the machines which will not only record and validate the sale, but which will also, through the use of appropriate circuitry make proper transfers from the buyer's account to that of the seller. Installment buying will be handled through the same device with an auxiliary attachment which will compute interest, establish time and amount of payment and program the master computor to automatically debit the appropriate account as payments fall due.

Individuals will have credit limits established and programmed into the bank computor. Overdrafts will then be treated as loans and interest will be computed and added to the account.

This system will ultimately extend around the world. An individual's card will be used to consummate transactions as easily in Bangkok as the corner store. All that is required is the interconnection of all computing devices into a single unified system.

This is not science fiction; what is here described has taken place or is taking place. What has not yet occurred can, as soon as banks and other commercial establishments have had time to install and operate their systems. It cannot be predicted how soon this will transpire, nor can it be said that what is here described is precisely how the world will function in the future. But the trends are obvious enough

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that what is described is both realistic and possible.

The technology and complexity of twentieth century civilization demands that its finance be automated and accelerated. The trends which see many large companies now paying by means similar to that already described, that see punch cards completed at the point of sale, that see computor tapes created by cash register sales cannot but point to what tomorrow must surely bring — a cashless economy.

Modern money bears little resemblance to its ancient ancestor except in physical appearance. Our money today is wholly fiduciary and serves only as a medium of exchange. No one hoards dollar bills nor copper quarters, his resources are much better represented by fiscal instruments which give him title to interest, or dividends, or growth opportunities.

Our generation can look forward perhaps to seeing the day when the coin, which has served man for three millenia, will be only of antiquarian interest. Numismatics then will be solely an exercise into mankind's past.

JOHN E. HARTMANN, EDITOR

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Western Punic Mints

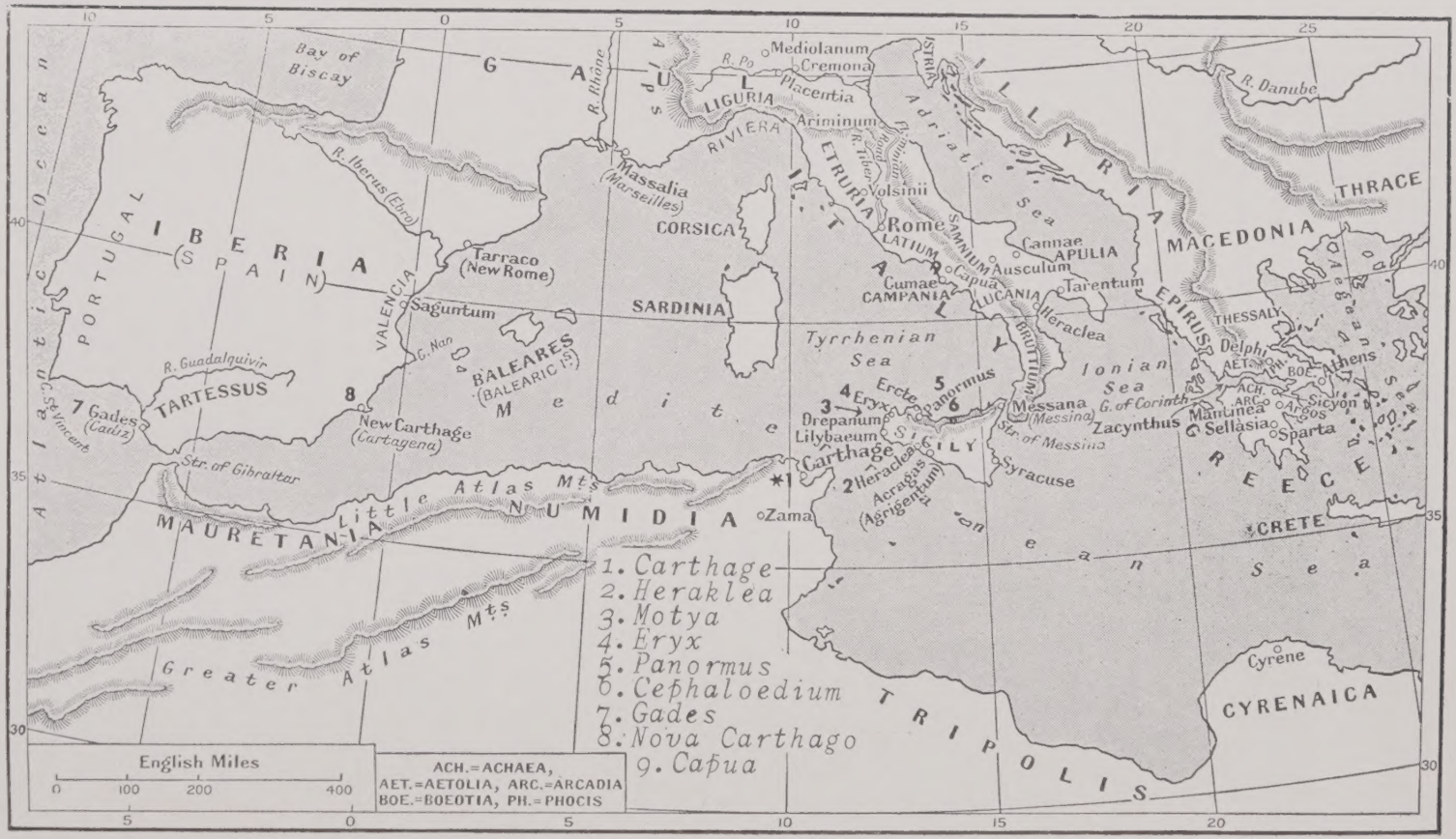
by Lawrence P. Healey

Stimulated by Mr. Hardy's recent article,[1] I should like to contribute the following observations on this most interesting series of ancient coins. Often labeled *Carthaginian, Siculo-Punic* or even *Greek*, these coins deserve more careful consideration. They provide one of the few physical contacts we possess with the legendary Punic mercantile empire.

I have chosen the term *Western Punic* rather than *Carthaginian* because of the very nature of that empire. Many of the cities included in the Punic confederation were founded, not by Carthaginians, but by Phoenician merchants and colonists from the east. Their settlement followed much the same pattern as the colonies of the Greeks in Italy and Sicily. These Punic cities came to recognize Carthage as their leader in external affairs, but not as their absolute ruler. Even Carthage, supreme over much of the western Mediterranean, continued to pay token tribute to her mother city of Tyre.[2]

In Sicily, Punic and later Carthaginian coin types were struck at several mints prior to the introduction of the practice of minting of precious metal at Carthage. Notable among these mints were *Heraklea Minoa, Motya, Eryx, Panormus* and *Cephaloedium*. Punic inscriptions indicating the city of issue were frequent as exemplified by Heraklea Minoa's coins . . . RUS MELKART.[3]

The Punic coin inscription MACHANAT presents the major problem in the Sicilo-Punic series. The most common translation is "the Camp." The opinion currently being voiced concerning these issues is that they represent "headquarters' money," earmarked for the payment of troops.[4] Logically this follows, in light of what we know about the organization of the Carthaginian army. First, the army was normally under the command of a single general officer who possessed extensive powers outside the city of Carthage. Secondly, the army was composed largely of mercenary troops, and this was especially true of the forces used in the Sicilian campaigns. Third, a rapid and convenient method of paying the mercenaries and distributing the spoils would have a good effect on the morale of the troops during long campaigns. Finally, coined money was secondary in the type of barter commerce carried on by Carthage. This last point is verified by the relatively late date of the acceptance of the practice of minting at Carthage. Car-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TARTESSUS
Gades (Cadiz)
St. Vincent
New Carthage (Cartagena)
Str. of Gibraltar
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Eryx
Panormus
Dreparium
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Carthage
Heraclea
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Syracuse
SICILY
Zama
Little Atlas Mts
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Greater Atlas Mts
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
TRIPOLIS
1. Carthage
2. Heraklea
3. Motya
4. Eryx
5. Panormus
6. Cephaloedium
7. Gades
8. Nova Carthago
9. Capua
English Miles
0 100 200 400
ACH.=ACHAEA,
AET.=AETOLIA, ARC.=ARCADIA
BOE.=BOEOTIA, PH.=PHOCIS

son attributes this event to 340 B.C., long after the adoption of coinage by the Punic colonies in Sicily.[5]

The Punic issues of Spain lend support to the military attribution for MACHANAT, in that the issues of the Nova Carthago and Gades mints were struck primarily for the pay of the Spanish army under the Barcids. E. S. G. Robinson's thesis, that the portraits appearing on some of these issues represent Hamilcar, Hasdrubal and Hannibal, is most interesting.[6]

The practice of a camp mint appears again during the Second Punic War. This would support substantially the foregoing opinion. Carson refers to electrum pieces struck at Hannibal's Capua camp in 216-215 BC.[7]

Remaining for consideration is only the minting establishment at Carthage. Its probable location is known by means of the Phoenician legend BYRSA, meaning citadel, which appears on some decadrachms. Of this mint's practices, or of the others, we know little. The opinion is held, however, by many numismatists, that Greek artists executed most of its dies. The coinage standards used for different issues varied from Attic to Phoenician, and the denominations issued reflected those scales.

The importance of these observations is to act as a stimulus for creating a more detailed study of these various Punic coins. We have a great wealth of knowledge and artifacts from the Greek and Roman worlds, but very little has survived the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. The coins are the monuments which now create for us a real link with the past. We should not neglect also to study the coin types of the palm tree and the horse for a more easily attributed ruler. A better understanding of western Punic coinage can be attained only through more frequent study and exchanges of information among numismatists.

[1] D. B. Hardy, "A Second Look at some Fourth Century Sicilian Tetradrachms," *The Turtle*, February 1967, pp. 39-42
[2] B. H. Warmington, *Carthage*, 1960, p. 126
[3] *op. cit.*, p. 85
[4] *ibid.*; D. Harden, The *Phoenicians*, p. 167
[5] R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of the World*, p. 75
[6] D. Harden, *op. cit.*, p. 168; E. S. G. Robinson, "Punic Coins in Spain," *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, 1956, pp. 34 ff.; R. A. G. Carson, *op. cit.*, p. 76
[7] R. A. G. Carson, *op. cit.*, p. 76

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Primer for Rubbings and Reproductions for Illustrations and Identification of Coins

by Hy Steinberg

The problem of sending coins from one's personal collection for the purpose of future sale, identification of some detail, for attribution, or other reasons has faced nearly every collector. To ease this situation some have photographs made, while some seek a more direct approach which will show the piece in a truer form, at the same time safeguarding the condition of a prized possession.

Let us examine the advantages of the rubbing in our quest for the ideal to suit each need.

A good rubbing is, in many cases, a remarkably good facsimile, and often can be used for publication and further illustration. The requirements are minimal and the supplies are usually at hand for most people. Perhaps the most demanding requisite is patience. In addition, some good bond paper, a soft lead pencil (No. 1 or 2), a good eraser, a knife or razor blade and a supply of warm water are needed.

To begin, cut a sheet of the bond paper to the required size. A crown will require a 2 x 4 inch piece, and a little reasoning will indicate the comparative size needed for any other coin you may wish to reproduce. Wet the piece of paper and allow it to set until it absorbs enough moisture to be workable. Determining the proper state of workability will require patience. Fold the section of damp paper and enclose the coin, impressing it with the fingers to firmly set the coin in the paper. Now, carefully tap with the eraser over all the surface working from the outer edge of the piece, bringing the edge and the outer lettering into relief. Then work toward the center to bring out every detail. With a reasonable amount of care, even the first trial will be a satisfying experience. If the paper has dried too much it may be necessary to re-wet the surface with the fingertips. When one has perfected this technique it is not difficult to make rubbings of both sides of the coin on the same piece of paper and thus show obverse and reverse in their true relationship. When the details are sharply drawn up so that reflected light shows the coin in good likeness, stroke the highlights with the index finger dipped into powdered graphite. This can be scraped from the pencil with a razor blade or knife. (It can also be purchased commer-

cially). Make a small mound of graphite and dip the finger into the filings, removing any excess on a tissue. This is necessary in order to avoid making the entire area so dark that the highlights or contrast will not be seen too well. When this is done well, both primary and secondary highlights are brought out in good graduations. Finally, allow the paper to dry with the coin still in position. For first trials use some common pieces such as pocket change, or an inexpensive coin coin with interesting features.

Should anyone be concerned about the possible damage caused by water on the coins, the following procedure may be followed. Rinse the coin thoroughly to prevent spotting and dry well with a soft cloth. Follow this with a rinse in a little denatured alcohol. Then air dry. To hasten this process an ear syringe is very handy and inexpensively obtained at any drug store.

To mail rubbings use regulation coin mailers to avoid crushing. It is always necessary to include with any rubbing notations as to the metal, tiny inscriptions or marks which do not show in the rubbings, the weight and any other significant information such as patina, etc., which may be helpful in describing the coin most fully.

A simple method for making plaster casts with readily available materials will follow in a later issue.

ROMAN COINS

I am selling, in a sequence of two price lists, my own collection of carefully selected Roman Imperial Coins. Most are offered at exactly the price at which they were purchased, when prices were somewhat lower than they are now; and some recent acquisitions are for sale at less than purchase price.

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Unknown Forgers of Ancient Coins

I. George Antoniou & Company in Crete

Information about forgers and their methods of operation is extremely vital for collectors of ancient coins. We all know of the "Paduans," Becker's work and the 1000 counterfeits of Christodoulos, but there are many others less renowned, from *Luigi Cigoi* (1811-1875) to the industrious Turks of the Istanbul bazaars who still manufacture and sell "ancient" and "byzantine" coins.

As an introduction to this series, we have selected the story of George Antoniou the Cretan, who specialized in ancient Cretan coins and Athenian owls. Many archaeologists know this story, but few could tell it better than Sir Leonard Woolley, the famous excavator of the Sumerian remains. The following is an extract from his book *As I Seem to Remember* (New York, Praeger, 1962). Woolley used the place name Candia (=Chandax) for the city now known as Herakleion.

Actually, at one time I was completely taken in. I was really shocked. In Crete in the early years of this century I was stopping with Arthur Evans when he was excavating at Knossos, and one day he got a message from the police at Candia asking him to come to the police station, so we went together — he, Duncan Mackenzie, who was his assistant, and myself. And the most surprising thing had happened.

Evans for years had employed two Greeks to restore the antiquities which he had found. They were extraordinarily clever men—an old man and a young one—and he had trained them, and they had worked under the artist whom he employed there, and they had done wonderful restoration for him. Then the old man got ill and at last the doctor told him he was going to die.

He said, 'Are you sure?' The doctor said, 'Yes, I'm afraid there's no hope for you at all.'

'Right,' he said. 'Send for the police.' The doctor said, 'You mean the priest.' 'No I don't.' 'I mean the police.' He insisted, and they sent for the police, and the police came and asked him, 'What on earth do you want?'

'Now I can tell you,' said the sick man. 'I'm going to die, so I'm all right, but for years I've been in partnership with George Antoniou, the young fellow who works with me for Evans, and we have been forging antiquities.'

'Well,' said the policeman, 'I don't know that that concerns me.' 'Yes,' he said, 'it does. Because we've sold a statuette of gold and ivory which was supposed to be a Cretan one to the Candia Government Museum, and that's a criminal offense. George is a scoundrel, and I hate the fellow, and I've been waiting for this moment to give him away. Go straight

to his house and you'll find all the forgeries and all our manufacturing plant there.'

The police went, they raided, and they found exactly what he said, and they asked Evans to come to look, and I never saw so magnificent a collection of forgeries as those fellows had put together.

There were things in every stage of manufacture. For instance, people had been recently astonished at getting what they call chryselephantine statuettes from Crete: statuettes of ivory decked out with gold — there is one in the Boston Musuem and one at Cambridge, and one in the Cretan Museum at Candia. These men were determined to do that sort of thing, and they had got there everything, from the plain ivory tusk and then the figure rudely carved out, then beautifully finished, then picked out with gold. And then the whole thing was put into acid, which ate away the soft parts of the ivory, giving it the effect of having been buried for centuries. And I didn't see that anyone could tell the difference!

Then they had got Greek coins. These are sometimes very rare and of immense value: recently one Greek coin at a London sale fetched £3,100; another fetched £2.300 — both unique coins. Of course, such coins are generally the treasured possessions of different museums. The two Greeks wrote round to the museums where there were unique coins and asked to be supplied with plaster casts of them. That is a very common request and it is always granted.

They got the plaster casts, and they had discovered how to make a steel mould from the plaster, so they cast steel moulds from the two sides of the coin, making one as an anvil and the other as a hammerhead. They looked up the catalogues of the coin collection from which the cast came, and they found there the exact weight of the coin in milligrams. It would also give the exact character of the alloy, the silver alloy of which the coin was made. So they imitated the alloy, cut off a lump of the right weight exactly, heated it almost to melting point and put it on the anvil and struck it with the hammer in the fashion of the ancient coiner, and produced something so like the original that nobody could have told the difference. They had got about 100 of these forgeries in stock, and how many of such may have found their way on the market I don't know, but it really was bewildering.

(In the next issue *The Forgers of the Istanbul Bazaar*)

A Bibliography of Fourth Century Coinage

by Arthur F. Johnson

This is a select bibliography based upon ease of accessibility. No attempt at a complete bibliography on ths subject has been attempted.

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ACCA INCORPORATED

Last August at the ANA Convention, the assembled representatives of the ACCA set the wheels in motion for a complete reorganization of the club. The first steps have now been taken. On Feb. 23, 1967 a corporate charter was granted by the State of Illinois, establishing a Board of Directors consisting of three distinguished numismatists, Joel L. Malter, Harold O. Roepe, and Frederick S. Knobloch. The goals of the ACCA, as set forth in these Articles are "to promote the science of numismatics as a branch of archaeology and as an adjunct to classical studies . . . (and) to popularize the study and collection of ancient and medieval coins and medals." Never before have the opportunities been greater for accomplishing these purposes: Membership is well over 1200 members, with new members joining every day. Our monthly publication, the *Turtle*, is widely read and respected in professional and amateur circles alike: and ACCA members all over the country are forming local chapters and encouraging other interested persons to participate.

The Articles contain only two special provisions, the first stating that "Selection of members of the Board of Directors shall be by free and periodic elections . . ." and the second authorizing Joel Malter, as Acting President, to organize an election for the Board of Directors. So the field is wide open for interested numismatists to participate in Club affairs, and to develop it along progressive lines. The members of the Select Committee, chosen at last summer's meeting to serve as a nominating and constitution committee, will be working all through the spring and summer preparing a constitution for the ACCA.

Robert Grossman
Doris Martin
Herb Brabandt
Dolores Wolken
Alyce Cresap
Bruce and Patricia Braun
David Ader
John Hartmann

ACCA DIRECTOR NOMINATIONS REQUESTED

I, JOEL MALTER, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE ANCIENT COIN CLUB OF AMERICA, BY THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN ME BY THE ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION, HEREBY ORDER THAT AN ELECTION OF DI-

RECTORS BE HELD ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING RULES:

ONE The Board of Directors shall consist of five persons to be elected for a term of not less than one year nor more than two years, to commence on September 1, 1967.

TWO Any person, excluding corporations and institutions, but not excluding persons who hold memberships under the name of a privately held corporation of which they are the major stockholder, shall be eligible to run for office and to vote.

THREE No person shall be allowed to run for office, or to vote, who is not a member of record, having paid dues and subscriptions for the current year, as of May 15, 1967.

FOUR No person shall be eligible to run for office who is not a permanent resident of the United States.

FIVE No person shall be eligible to run for office who does not have a significant interest in ancient or medieval numismatics, and is unwilling to devote substantial time to the execution of his duties as a Director if elected.

SIX Nominations shall be in the form of a sworn affidavit signed by two members of the ACCA setting forth the name of the person being nominated, stating that that person satisfies the qualifications set forth in paragraph TWO above.

SEVEN Nominations shall be sent to The Ancient Coin Club of America, c/o Robert Grossman, 431 Ridge Ave., Evanston, Illinois 60202 and must be postmarked no later than midnight of June 10, 1967.

EIGHT Ten candidates will be chosen by the Select Committee, which will notify the candidates and will distribute to each eligible member of the ACCA an official ballot containing the names of the candidates.

NINE Each recipient of an official ballot is entitled to cast five votes, which may be cast singly, one vote each for five candidates, or which may be accumulated and cast for one or more candidates.

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A Die of an Athenian Tetradrachm

by N. Svoronos

(translated from the Greek original)

One who carefully studies ancient Greek coins is surprised by the enormous number of numismatic dies used by each one of the countless ancient mints, not only for numismatic issues rapidly succeeding one another, but also for simultaneous issues of the same coin. In fact, one can now compare a hundred specimens of a coin of the same place, year and value of a large numismatic series, for instance the Ptolemaic or the Athenian, without being able to distinguish more than three or four pieces coming from the same die. Taking into consideration that exactly the same thing occurs in the coin striking of all the countries, city-states, islands, kings and rulers of the ancient Greek world, in their rich issues as well as the poor, it would be difficult for one to calculate or imagine the amazing number of dies that the ancient Greeks made for the striking of their coins over a long succession of centuries. However, out of this enormous number of ancient dies one can say that not even one has been preserved until our time.

It is true that we already know two ancient dies of Greek coins: The iron die of the reverse of a silver tetradrachm of Philip II, the king of Macedonia, in the Museum of Sofia,[1] and the die of the reverse of a silver coin of Berenice II, the queen of Egypt, once in the Fejervari collection.[2] I can see, though, from a careful examination of their impressions, that both these dies are the work and instruments of ancient forgers who have unskillfully falsified the dies of ancient coins well known to us. Moreover, the works of forgers comprise the most, if not all, of the numerous dies of Roman coins preserved until our time. This very surprising fact, that no genuine die of an ancient coin has been found until today, in my opinion allows only one explanation: There was, somehow, a common and extremely severe law ordering the immediate destruction of the die used for the striking of its pieces after every issue of a coin, in order to avoid any abuse. This explanation is suggested as the only correct one, not only because

1. Dobrusky, *La Numismatique des rois Thraces au point de Vue Historique*. Sophia 1897. See also Babelon, Traite . . . Vol. 1, p. 906, fig. 24.

2. E. Babelon, *ibidem*, p. 907, fig. 25.

of the fact that not one genuine ancient die has been found, but also from ancient testimony according to which there was a law of Solon forbidding, "*the engraver of gems to keep the die of the seal made by him.*" (Diogenes Laertius I.57). Indeed, if the law protected the interests of individuals like this, how much greater attention must it have given the much more important interests of the state iself, which risked a great danger if one of the employees of the mint, or even a common thief, stole the die used for the striking of public coins: for with this die, he could, by blending the metal, strike false coins similar in appearance to the genuine ones and easily able to deceive.

All this gives great importance to the discovery (1904) of a die of the reverse of a genuine Greek coin, and especially of an Athenian tetradrachm of the series, according to Head, of those struck from c.430 until 322 B.C.

In consequence, I think that this die is a subject worthy of an essay, and more than that, of an essay published in a volume honoring a man, one of whose best works is the scholarly description and study of ancient Athenian coins in the incomparable series of the *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*.[3] This die, a triple picture of which we give (p. 117), was discovered by an Arab around June of 1904 in the ruins of Tel El-Athrib in Egypt, in the very same place where in December of 1903 a hoard of about 700 Athenian tetradrachms, belonging for the greater part to the same period as the die, was also discovered. This Arab sold the die to a merchant of antiquities, who in turn sold it to the well-known numismatist and friend of mine Mr. Giovanni Dattari who lives in Cairo. He, in utmost generosity, offered it to the National Numismatic Museum, thinking, as he wrote to me, that it was right that the Museum of Athens, more than any other, should possess this really unique and precious object.

Simultaneously, Mr. Dattari published the die under discussion in the *Journal Internationale d'archaeologie numismatique* (Vol. 8 (1905), pp. 102-114, ind. 2-4) along with a notable study of 240 Athenian tetradrachms from the abovementioned find, of which he offered 84 selected pieces to the Numismatic Museum of Athens also. Because Mr. Dattari only briefly made reference to the die under discussion, we consider it necessary to describe it here in more detail.

3. The Greek text of this essay was published in *Corolla Numismatica; Numismatic Essays in Honour of Barclay Head*. London 1906, pp. 285-295.

The die is composed of a piece of bronze, weighing 164.12 gms., in the form of a four-sided obelisk of a height of 00.59 mm. Its surface is covered by a green patina over a great part of which there is another red patina. The lower part, that is around the base, in which the owl of the Athenian tetradrachm is engraved, is 00.04 mm. high at the exterior edge. This is the only part of the die that entered the metal blank of the coined tetradrachm, forming the engraved square surrounding the type of the owl. It seems that in the beginning this part of the die was not discernible from the part directly above it, but it became thicker in the course of time as the metal spread, due to the pressure of the striking hammer.

The middlepart, 00.14 mm. high, forms a continuation of the first part, being narrower at the base and becoming larger as it goes higher, and having at the upper end (which constitutes the thickest part of the die, that is the belly of the die) a circumference of 0.102 mm.

Finally, the upper part has a length of 00.35 mm., becoming narrower as it rises, like a pyramid, but it has a rounded top rather than a pointed one. Obviously all the upper pyramidal part of the die was inserted into a metallic holder upon which the blows of the hammer fell. This metallic holder, strongly attached by firing or by the frequent stroke of the hammer, left on the upper surface of the die particles of its metal which was different in composition. I considered the chemical analysis of the die very important and necessary so that, through it, the ancients' method of composing the metal of their numismatic dies could become known for the first time. For this purpose I requested the assistance of the distinguished

chemist and friend of mine, Prof. Zengelis, fellow of chemistry in the National University of Athens and professor of the Polytechnic School. After having undertaken this project with great interest and care, he kindly sent me the following important report from which we see the point of perfection which the ancient Greeks had reached in every area.

Prof. Zengelis writes: "*The coin-striking die sent to me for examination was covered in part with a green patina and on a greater part of the surface with cupro-ferous oxide, a token of good preservation, not subjected to humidity. After the removal of the oxidized part of the surface by filing, a glittering reddish-yellow to gray-yellow surface appeared. Two irregular horizontal projections divide the die into three parts. By light filing applied to different points of the three sections, I found everywhere a metallic surface of the same hardness and the same color. This made it evident that the composition of the die was the same throughout, and that the projections were due to a mechanical deformation, which at the lower part was provoked by the resistance of the underlying object to the continuous blows, and at the upper part on the other side, by the direct strokes of the hammer.*

"*At two or three points of the upper part of the tool, I observed very small rounded projections. This metal, as revealed after cleaning by filing, was red, which means pure copper or copper mixed with only a small quantity of tin, completely different from the metal of the die, possibly transferred from another metallic object surrounding the die at the upper part due to a considerably high temperature.*

"*Applying chemical analysis to the die, I found that it consisted of bronze composed of 22.51 mm. of tin and 69.85 mm. of copper, totalling 92.36 mm. The remaining 7.64% was undoubtedly oxygen, since there was no foreign mixture of another metal, no lead, silver, zinc, iron, nickel, antimony, etc., nor sulphur, phosphorus or arsenic. Because of the great value of the object, I did not file to clean a very large part of the surface, so that in the analysed part (0.27 gms) there was also red copper-oxide. If we consider the proportion found in the analysed portion as the regular one, then the mixture must have consisted of 24.37 parts of tin and 75.63 parts of copper. Taking into consideration also that in such a mixture tin is oxidized more quickly than copper, we can assume a medium composition of the mixture to be 75 parts of copper to 25 parts of tin. In such a composition of the mixture, the following must be observed: Such a large proportion of tin*

in the alloy is extremely unusual in the bronze of the period, the composition of which usually was 90 parts of copper and 10 parts of tin, while the very ancient bronze was still poorer in tin. Among hundreds of bronze objects from Greece or from the Orient whose compositions are known to me by published analyses, only one, the spear point of an arrow of Egyptian origin, an object demanding hardness and resistance (Festigkeit), had a composition approaching the one of our die, that is 2.22% tin and 76.6% copper. Thus, such was the composition demanded for an object like the die because the metal from which it was made had to meet the following requirements: It had to be hard so that the type engraved on the die could be imprinted on the coin easily and without deformation; it had to be resistant enough not to crack under strong blows; it had to be able to resist consecutive and heavy blows without deformation; it had to combine hardness with malleability so that it was possible for the coin type to be engraved at its base.

"Examining the mechanical attributes of such mixtures, we are convinced that the proportions of the metals of which this die consists fulfills all the above terms more than any other.

"As to hardness, it is known that the greatest hardness in mixtures like this is achieved when the tin contained is in a proportion of 20-27%. Thus, Calvert and Johnson found out that the hardness of bronze containing 7% tin is twice as great as the hardness of pure copper, while the hardness of bronze containing 20% tin is 3 times as grtat. Kunzel found out that the hardest possible mixture is that containing 27.2% tin, in which case its hardness equals that of cast iron.

"Regarding the second requirement, it must be observed that when the quantity of tin contained in the mixture surpasses 25%, the resistance of the mixture is very much reduced and it becomes fragile.

"Regarding resistance to deformation, it may be observed that the metal of bells which must not be deformed by the consecutive strokes is of a similar composition (20-23% tin to 80-77% copper).

"As to malleability, Riche has shown that a mixture containing more than 20% tin is very difficult to work at normal temperature as well as when energetically fired, but becomes so easy to work in a temperature around 600° that it is possible to give it various forms without needing to melt it in order to work at it, even if the working has to be detailed and skillful.

"Moreover, in achieving the above requirements, the purity of the mixture helps greatly. Thus, mixture with lead or zinc would very much lessen the hardness of the mixture, while on the other hand, an addition of a small quantity of antimony or arsenic, as found in some objects of very ancient copper, would considerably increase the hardness of the mixture, greatly harming its resistance and facility to be worked. For these reasons care was taken in the making of the mixture to use pure copper and tin not containing even traces of the above elements which were often found in similar ancient mixtures.

All this makes obvious the height which chemical, as well as technical metallurgy had reached in those ancient times. This is attested by the purity of the metals in the mixture and by the accurate knowledge of the mechanical attitudes characteristic of every kind of mixture of tin and copper." (Athens, January 28, 1906.)

I consider it necessary to add the following. Mr. Dattari has correctly realized that most of the tetradrachms of the find and in consequence, the die itself, belong to the years c. 430-322 B.C. He also justly realized, helped by the small incisions and signposts found on most of the tetradrachms and also on numerous of the silver tetradrachms struck in Egypt by the first two Ptolemies, that these circulated just a bit earlier than, if not simultaneously with, the Ptolemaic tetradrachms.

On the other hand, I think he wrongly considered the comparatively unskillful and careless appearance of many of these tetradrachms as proof of a native Egyptian issue. According to our opinion, the poorness of the appearance is due to prevailing negligence in Athens in those days concerning the exterior appearance of the thousands of coins of the same type which were minted. Before the appearance of the Alexandrian tetradrachm and during the period before it had yet prevailed in trade, these Athenian coins were used as international commercial currency and it was advantageous to the city of Athens to strike continuously a tremendous number at the highest possible speed, a great profit being realized even from coining almost all the silver produced by the mines of Laurion.[4] In consequence, Mr. Dattari thinks that the greatest number of these coins and necessarily the die itself, are not products of the mint of Athens, but are native Egyptian copies, proportionate to the coins of the same Athenian type

4. Only a small portion of the silver used by Athens at this time.

coming from India, Syria or Arabia. Although he recognizes that Egypt did not strike coins itself before the Macedonian occupation, in his opinion this does not exclude the suggestion that Egypt struck copies of the coins of countries with which she had commercial connections.

Mr. Dattari supports this theory at length, reaching the suggestion at the end that these Athenian tetradrachms might have been struck around the year 364 B.C. by order of the Pharaoh Tachos, of the 30th dynasty for the Athenian General Chabrias. Preparing himself against the Persian invasion, the king appointed Chabrias leader of 20,000 Greek mercenaries. He then placed them, as well as a fleet of 200 ships, under the orders of Agesilaos of Sparta.

I cannot accept this theory, not only because I am strongly of the opinion (which I have already expressed elsewhere) that the Egyptian pharaohs never struck any coin and especially but also because the above mentioned coins and especially our die are, in my opinion, much later than the period of Tachos. They were struck in Athens shortly before the year 322 B.C. and for many years following, which means for the whole duration of the reign of the first two Ptolemies, under whom they still circulated in abundance because of their centuries-old familiarity in international and especially Egyptian commerce.

We will write in detail about this subject shortly in the *Corpus of Athenian Coins* being prepared for publication. Here we find it sufficient to observe, in order to show the Athenian origin of the tetradrachms under discussion, that a great number of tetradrachms found in Greece are of the same dies as those found in Egypt. The only reason for the almost barbaric appearance of some of the coins is their hurried striking in Athens because of the demand.

How did it happen though that the above-mentioned die was found in Egypt? Certainly the city of Athens could not bestow it on one in the foreign service as Chabrias was, nor would any Athenian general dare make one by order of the foreign king he was serving. The city of Athens certainly would not let the die go without strong protest to the king who had appropriated it to himself, nor would she let the guilty citizen go unpunished.

In my opinion, a common thief stole the die under discussion from the mint of Athens and went to Egypt, where, in those days, the Athenian coins of the type of this die were

the main and most welcomed ones: there he struck pieces of false coin using this die. Similar theft of dies has been remarked already by Imhoof-Blumer. That Egypt was then the promised land of forgers is testified by the great number of false Athenian and Ptolemaic (of the first two Ptolemies) coins which compelled merchants and bankers in Egypt to try the coins by deep cuts and incisions and at the same time to overstrike, by their own small countermarks, those coins found genuine by them.

A great number of cuts, incisions and countermarks cover almost all the silver coins struck by the first two Ptolemies, especially those Athenian tetradrachms discovered together with the die and which Mr. Dattari described in detail and offered to the National Numismatic Museum of Athens.

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BOOK REVIEWS

JONES, TOM B., *Paths To The Ancient Past*, The Free Press, New York, 1967, $1.95, paper covers, 192 pp.

A problem which frequently baffles coin collectors and newer students in the field of numismatics is the disagreement he finds in various books which he reads when studying his coins. He finds it difficult to understand why an eminent professor will write about Athenian "old series" tetradrachms and date their introduction to 594 BC and then encounter another, equally distingushed scholar, who insists that the coin could not possibly have been introduced until 540 BC and perhaps even later.

What should, of course, be immediately evident to a discerning mind is that there are as yet few settled truths upon which scholars can agree—that in fact numismatics, and beyond that, history as a whole is hardly a stagnant field where all is known. The reverse is much more true. In the past century, archaeology has unearthed entire civilizations which were not even dreamed of a hundred years ago. Almost each day new evidence comes to light or a new mind reworks old evidence for new facts and hypotheses. Numismatics and the discipline it serves, far from being complete, are today young and vital fields of scholarly research, and that research is continually producing such fruit that we all must be prepared to revise our own estimates of our past in the light of that fruit.

This book is a map to the work of the historian. It provides a guide to the methodology of history—it shows how the objective scholar approaches and deals with the material from which he reconstructs our past. It is at once an important introductory text whose value to the young scholar and the amateur historian is incalcuable, a means whereby interested people who deal with coins and classical artifacts can understand how the information given to him in books and monographs is achieved, and finally, to any person interested in the use of his mind, it is an intellectual exercise on the means whereby evidence is handled, correlated and weighed.

The historian who deals with antiquity has diverse materials with which to work. He may dscover the site of an ancient city and by digging recover many of its artifacts, its buildings and its art. In some areas there are the cunieform tablets, in others hieroglyphics and elsewhere where climate has been kind, papyrus. Coins and inscriptions abound throughout the ancient world and pottery fragments are everywhere. Along with this we have those documents which by one means or another, survived from those times to these, our literary sources.

The intent of the book is to show how each of the special fields of classical studies, archaeology, numismatics, epigraphy, etc. is used. The author shows what can be accomplished with each type of evidence and the limitations imposed. The reader will understand what the archaeologist can show, and more importantly, what he cannot show. The book discusses how literary sources are evaluated and correlated, both with each other and with other evidence. The author shows how texts are tested for authenticity, both as to their authorship and material.

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Each class of evidence is dealt with in an illustrative manner: thus archaeology is treated by a discussion of the excavatons at Hissarlik, the presumed site of ancient Troy. Numismatics is discussed by showing how the coin types of the emperor Augustus allude to statements made in the king of all inscriptions, the *Monumentum Ancyranum.* Decipherment and the resurrection of dead languages is illustrated by an enthralling precis of the work of Ventris and the decipherment of Linear B.

The book is the product of an orderly and brilliant mind, one, moreover, which has spent many years in historical research. It becomes then not only a methodology in a textual manner, but a distillation of those years of experience and careful work which the author himself has devoted to his craft. No person who reads this review, whether he be a casual collector of coins, a serious student of antiquity or merely a curious person passing through should fail to read this book. The reader will emerge with a greater understanding of the process by which men think. JOHN E. HARTMANN

SYLLOGE NUMORUM GRAECORUM, *Sammlung Von Aulock,* edited by Hans von Aulock, C. E. Bosch and Gerhard Kleiner. Fasicules #13, *Cilicia* 64 pp. + 29 plates $20.00; #14, *Galatia and Cappadocia,* 44 pp. + 19 plates $12.50; #15, *Supplement, Pontus, Paphlagonia and Bithynia,* 46 pp. + 20 plates $13.75; #16, *Supplement, Mysia, Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos* 46 pp. + 20 plates; $13.75; Munich. 1966.

The appearance of these last four volumes of the *Sammlung von Aulock* completes the publication of the author's collection of 7,758 coins of Asia Minor. In particular, the volumes on Cilicia and Galatia and Cappadocia have been long awaited by scholars who have already found this portion of the *Sylloge* the most usable text on the numismatics of Anatolia.

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